/149 cont./

249 [177] [273] The Auin have copied this procedure[1] from the Bergdamara of Oas.

The process of fermentation is unknown.

[1][i.e., of growing hemp.-Analyst]

K. Toys, Games, Sport

524 Little bows and arrows serve as children's toys.

A Chinese puzzle game is played by young and old, men and women alike. I have chosen the above designation because of the nature of the game.

The partners sit opposite each other in a crouch.

Both tap their thighs with both hands in rhythmic alternation and at the same time murmur meaningless inarticulate sounds.

One partner then suddenly extends his right or left hand toward the other or makes some other kind of motion with his hand. The point, now, is that the opponent must immediately extend the same hand or respond to the given motion with a similar one; in short, he must not allow himself to be confused. [Fig. 11 appears here.]

If, for instance, the opponent motions with the wrong hand or makes any other mistake, his partner very briefly signals his advantage by making a throwing motion with his hand or by striking his right index finger on his left fist (intended to signify: "I am breaking his, that is, the opponent's, head in two"). The game is not interrupted by these rapid signals.

/150/ The entire game is played at a fairly rapid speed.

Sometimes several men sit across from one another and take turns in the matches. Even little boys take part in the game of the adults.

[171] The Herero and Bergdamara play a similar game. The Auin, however, maintain that it is an original Bushman game.

Prizes are not awarded. They play purely for the "glory."

525 Game of chance: this bears great resemblance to the Chinese puzzle game, except that the participants also tap the ground with their knees. The "killing," that is, defeat of the opponent, is indicated by a loud exclamation without interrupting the progress of the game. The stakes (for instance, tobacco, food)

/150 cont./

525 are placed between the players and taken by the winner, but since the luck often changes during a match, the same prize passes back and forth frequently.

I have seen this game played only by two men (not by women and children). One finds especially passionate players
524 among the Auin, in particular among older men.
535 Dancing game of the women (goei) (see Photos. 36 and 37).

I am in doubt as to whether I should classify this under games or dances.

A number of women line up along a tree trunk lying on the ground. All of them in rhythm alternately place the front part of first the right and then the left foot on the trunk. It proceeds in this fashion, slowly at first, then ever faster. If the women have their backs turned to the tree trunk, they place their heels on it in the same fashion.

Sometimes also two rows of women will face each other.
[533] Frequently, a kind of rhythmical singsong is also uttered by them.

The game is begun with everyone calling out //ai, meaning something like "let's go."

In some dances bucks' horns are tied in front of the forehead (eland bull dance). One can hardly designate these as true masked dances, however.

The Auin are acquainted with stilts, which are used by men
481 and boys. I might mention that I did not see any, but when I described them the Auin seemed to be very familiar with them.

526 Foot races (gâ).

The runners line up in a row, and at the word "gâ" they all run. The winner obtains a prize of food or of some useful object (for example, a knife).

Older people act as judges. Bloody quarrels are said to occur
[578] when the prizes are awarded.

Stick throwing (gai or albi).

Thin sticks of any length up to two meters and taken from the rosinkis bush are thrown forward with a whistling swing and from a running start (they are not flung like a spear, but grasped at one end). The object is to throw as far as possible. No prizes are offered; hence it is a real sport. Since it is fairly strenuous, this game, like all the others, incidentally, is played only when

411

Auen

Photo. 29.

Photo. 31.
Ways of Shooting Bows and Arrows.

516
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Photo. 33.
Game of
Chance.

2:Kaufmann--72 G-5 (1908) 1910 FX10 Bushmen FX10

526

Auen

Photo. 35.
Riding.

524
535

Photo. 37.
Dancing Game of the Women.

534
535

Photo. 39.
Dance
Rattles.

2: Kaufmann--73 G-5 (1908) 1910 FX10 Bushmen FX10

524
535

Photo. 36.
Dancing Game of the Women [see Photo. 37].

534
516

Photo. 38.
Musical Bows.

535

Photo. 40.
Porcupine Dance.

[59 cont.]

19. Dance Songs

I was able to take down a few dances:

1. Dance Song for the Wedding

535
539 ee ga ee /nuia khe e /goaro be We are singing of the child. (Repeat.)

2. Pantomimic Eland Dance

χ'ai /nui !gaa u da !gaa Runner with arrow poison in his body
ts-ii !gowara //goe Do you run with a heavy head.

The elephant dance, curiosly enough, is sung with the refrain: "The Ovambo girl goes around between the men."

●524 The !Kung also have a war game. Two parties stand facing each other some distance apart and shoot bird arrows at each other. The Bushmen are very skillful in evading these arrows.

622
782
769 Farmer Friedrich near Duwib reported the following to me concerning the Hei//om near Tsintsabis: When the village elder dies, his successor makes an incision on his forehead between the eyebrows and squirts the blood toward the east; then he cuts his little finger and sprays the blood toward the west. This is done so that the dead chief in the beyond will see to it that those remaining behind will always have veldkost.

782
681 At the girls' initiation the spirits of the east and west are implored in song to let the young woman always find veldkost.

"If after a hunting expedition of several days the husband
787
695 suspects that his wife has been unfaithful to him, he can clear up
684 the situation by means of an 'ordeal.' He takes a resinous root that burns like a candle with a bright flame, in the evening places it in the entrance of his, that is, his wife's hut, and observes the direction in which the long flame points. If the flame points into the interior of the house, adultery occurred during his absence. If it points outside, his wife is innocent."

≠AUIN
NOGAU
NARON

[68 cont.]

1. Birth and Childhood

844 Among the ≠Auin, the husband of a woman in childbed slings the string of his bow around her stomach, but he is not present at the birth itself. The cord is severed with the tip of a reed splinter.

844 Among the Naron and Nogau, the delivery proceeds as it does among the !Kung; an old woman usually provides assistance, however.

Twins (Hoi-holi) are not desired; among the Nogau one of them is killed.

845

[553] 844 Among the Nogau, the father gives the child its name. There the child has its umbilical cord severed by means of a sharp quartz splinter. A woman in childbed may not eat blood and head meat. Until the child is able to sit up, the husband [833] may not cohabit with the mother. The latter custom is also found among the Betschuana. Nogau children are not allowed to eat 262 the flesh of the wildcat and of two birds (tsugnussi and /gui). [114] Kaufmann has made some observations concerning children's games; Bleek also provides some data:

524 Among the ≠Auin little bows and arrows serve as children's toys. The same applies to the Naron and Nagau [sic]. Stilts [461] are known among the Auin and are used by men and boys. Concerning children's games among the Naron, Miss Bleek reports:

524

The Game of the Big Water Snake

A boy crawls on his stomach to a small pile of sand which is supposed to represent the waterhole. At some distance from it, the children sit in a row, one behind the other, in such a way that each one sits between the legs of the one behind him; he puts his hands on the shoulder of the person in front of him. The biggest child [69] always sits at the front, the smallest at the back. They sing a song that in part is no longer intelligible. (Probably in the children's language.) This big "snake" now moves very slowly around the waterhole, while the water snake from time to time throws sand on it; then the others withdraw. At the end the snake catches one from the row and "eats it." I

[69 cont.] I have observed an analogous game among the Betschuana children in Epukiro.

524
[171]

The Elephant-Ostrich Game

Again a pile of sand serves as a substitute for a waterhole. Two boys come as elephants and want to drink. Two others imitate ostriches and will not let the elephants get water.

The Oxen Game

Three or four boys represent the oxen. One is regarded as the owner; another wants to steal them. After a little struggle, he gradually succeeds in doing so. Once he has stolen all of them, the game is over. (Compare the "ox stealing" among the Bergdama from Okombahe.) [Fig. 24 appears here.]

[532]

Fig. 24. Magical Contact between Hunters and Game (Salt River Valley, Kaofeld). From H. Obermaier and H. Kühn, Buschmannkunst [Bushman Art].

[69 cont.]

The Bartering Game

524 It is exactly like analogous games in Europe.

The War Game

The boys stand in two rows facing each other and play at shooting arrows. The one shot at tries to protect himself. As soon as he becomes tired, he falls over as a "dead person." The game is played until only one is left.

The Bride-Stealing Game

Two young girls dance behind a bush. They are the brides. Two older girls with sticks follow their trail; they are the suitors who try to catch the two brides. When they have succeeded, two more girls representing the mothers appear, and they try to prevent the abduction of the brides. Finally, however, the brides are abducted anyway.

The Ball Game

The ball game is definitely a women's game, in which small girls and grandmothers alike participate. The players stand in two rows facing each other, and the ball, usually a round watermelon, is thrown from one row to the other.

2. The Boys' Initiation

881 Among the Nogau, the boys are initiated when they reach maturity. The boys' initiation is called Dschai-dschua.

The young man is not accepted into the community of men simply through marriage. He must first submit to the initiation, which proceeds as follows among the Nogau:

Under the leadership of an experienced elder and several

≠AUIN
NARON
NOGAU

[77 cont.]

411 into the reed shaft while the other is poisoned. In other cases, the short arrowhead is joined to a bone spindle by means of a connecting piece made of grass, and this bone spindle is in turn fixed into the shaft so that the arrow is tripartite. The arrows are either carried in the quiver already assembled, or the points [78] are kept in small containers of bark or horn closed off at both ends by leather caps. Three bows of the Nogau had lengths [411] of 89, 95, and 100 centimeters. Animal tendons are used.

[714] The battle insigne of the ≠Auin is a war cap made from the hide of the aardwolf. The bow of the Naron is made of Grevia 411 wood and is about a meter long. Not only tendons but also plant fibers are used for the bowstring. The plant strings are a surrogate that the Bushmen are forced to use today due to the lack of game. The bow itself is reinforced at the ends with a binding of tendons or leather.

The arrow shafts resemble those of the ≠Auin, as do the points. The iron points are not removable and are called male. The metal is obtained from the north and is worked cold by the [325] ≠Auin. The Naron themselves make no iron arrowheads. [Fig. 28 appears here.]

Whereas during Kaufmann's time the ≠Auin did not have the kirri, the Naron have it today; its lower end is sharpened to a point so that it can also be used as a digging stick. The Nogau, though not too commonly, have throwing clubs that [411] correspond to those of the Dama and Herero, but are more crudely worked.

Concerning the Naron, Bleek also mentions harpoons with long, composite shafts, which serve to get jumping hares and the like out of their holes. This tool will be described in greater detail under the Dama [untranslated].

372 Like all Bushmen, the Nogau make fire by rubbing two sticks together. The female stick is called Dane-di, the male Dane-≠goa. Firemaking itself is designated as Dalisi, one of the many strange words without clicks that we find among the Nogau.

Bushman wells are likewise used and are called //a-si.

312 The girls have a toy (gai-dum) consisting of several sticks of various kinds, which they wear on the chest. They drum on

524 IT WITH THE FINGERS.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 155]

they hurriedly collected whatever veldkos they came across, being closely followed by the *gei-khoib*. In the *ǂao-dama-ǂnab* or dance of the Klipkaffirs who live on the mountain tops, are depicted a couple of Klipkaffirs, carrying heavy loads and closely followed by the Bushmen armed with kirries. The Klipkaffirs are constantly glancing backwards as if anticipating a blow from a kirri. When they see any veldkos they squat down, hurriedly dig it up and place it in their bags. While on the way they are constantly being harassed and threatened with kirries by the pursuing Bushmen. The *ǂao-dama-ǂnab* originated with the Klipkaffirs to commemorate the time when they were held in bondage by the */Koma-khoin* and was taught by them to the latter. It is also known to other groups, *e.g.*, the *Xom-khoin*, but is danced mainly by the */Koma-khoin*. 773 539 535

The *Xom-khoin* have a dance in which are depicted the antics of a group of vultures at the carcass of a zebra. It is confined to men only but the women chant and clap their hands. The carcass is represented by a person lying down. A giant vulture is at the carcass. As the others, who are standing close together some distance away, approach in a row flapping their wings, he raises his wings and makes a dart at them which causes them to stop suddenly and retreat. This dance is known as *man-toeu tsi gei-aniti-ǂnab*. 535

Among all the remaining tribes dances of a similar description are met with, being based as a rule on episodes in the lives of wild animals. Thus the *ǂAo-//ein* and *Xaron* have the turtle dove, duiker, porcupine, guineafowl, jackal and other dances. Games are played by grown-up people of both sexes as well as by children. Among the *Hei-//om* the men play their games on an open place cleared of scrub outside the werft. The principal game is the *bies-//heib* which is played with a round tuber (*bies*). The players line up in two rows facing each other and the bies is rolled from one side to the other. As it approaches the opposite side each member of the latter in turn hurls a pointed stick, shaped like an assegaai (*hēi-heigu*) at it. If he misses, the *bies* is rolled to the now opposite side. If he should hit it the *bies* is left *in situ*, the sides cross over and it is rolled towards the winning side again. Those who have hit it have preference in hurling the *hei-heigu* at the *bies*. This game is played by the */Koma-khoin* only. 524

Among the games played by the women of these communities may be mentioned the *goarab-/hurub* or white monkey game of the *Xom-khoin*. A white monkey was once seen by a woman who ran home and told the others. The part of the monkey is taken by a woman who stands with her hands covering the sides of her face, leaving only a small opening for peeping through. She sways her head from side to side. The other women form up in a row opposite to her. One goes forward to look at the monkey, gazes at it intently and, when the latter starts moving its head from side to side, beckons and calls to the others to come and see the wonderful

8; Fourie D-5 (ca. 1920) 1928
FX10 Bushmen FX10

524 thing. This they do one by one, each in turn beckoning to the others to come and see.

In the *surus-/hurub* (game of the ringhals snake) one woman acts as the snake, standing with her hand and forearm raised above the forehead. As the other women approach her she hisses and strikes with the raised hand after the manner of a snake, causing them to scream and retire. This game is said to be founded on the experience of a woman into whose eyes a snake spat while she was trying to drive mice out of a shrub by means of her stick.

The following are a few examples of the games played by the *ǂAo-//ein* and *//Aikwe* of the Kalahari, viz.: *Children's*: [857] a man bartering goods from a trader; cock ostriches fighting with elephants which have come to drink at waterhole; a fight between two opposing groups, small bows and wooden arrows being used; a python lying in wait for and capturing its prey at a waterhole. *Men's*, the ostrich game; throwing the *isani*, in which a thin, short-feathered stick, weighted at one end by means of a large bean (bauhinea esculenta), is flung into the air and kept going by catching it on a stick in its descent and flinging it up again; throwing the stick, in which each player has a thin stick, about three feet long, which he flings forcibly on to the ground in such manner as to make it rise into the air and shoot away from him. *Women's*, catching the ball in which a melon or round tuber is used for the purpose; the capture of brides by young men, etc.

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS.

Food Supply, Etc.

137 The source of the food supply varies very considerably in 184 different localities. In some it is derived mainly from the 268 vegetable, in others from the animal, kingdom. The Kalahari and northern parts of the territory are rich in both plant and animal life and the Bushmen inhabiting those parts consequently have a fairly well-balanced dietary. In the central and southern Kalahari the most important among the vegetable foods are the *tsamma* (citrullus vulgaris), öintjes (cyperis edulis Dtr.) and *//nõun* (Bauhinea esculenta). As one proceeds northwards various fruit-bearing trees appear, *e.g.*, the wild fig, palm, omungete nut, wild orange, omuandi, omuve, etc. In addition to the above numerous varieties of edible roots, bulbs, tubers, berries, etc., appear in great profusion during and after the rainy season.

222 Among the *Hei-//om* the following ceremony is observed in connection with the collection of veldkos by the women. It is practised when the fruit of the *ǂhuin* ripens, generally after the onset of the big rainy season in the month of February. On a certain day, appointed by the *gei-khoib*, all the women, under the guidance of the *gei-khois*, set out to collect the first fruit of the *ǂhuin*, the men in the meantime remaining in the *//gãus*. The trees from which the fruit is to be gathered

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

252 from the yellow liver and threw that away, but he left the liver and the surrounding fat because he meant for that to be eaten.

The baby, Nhwakwe, who owned the tortoise, came to sit by his father, leaning on Gai's leg and watching, looking smiling into the belly of the tortoise. A tortoise is such a slow tough creature that its body can function although its heart is gone. Nhwakwe put his wrists to his forehead to [524] imitate in a most charming manner the way in which the tortoise was trying to hide. Nhwake looked just like the tortoise.

Gai frowned with concentration and worked with his mouth open, pulled down at the corners. When the intestines were removed, Gai stuffed the cavity with green leaves of the [263] kind that "make your gums numb," say the Bushmen, added for flavor, I believe. The tortoise at this retreated far into its shell with its legs pulled in tightly, and Gai heated the doors again to curl them down. Then he packed the opening with grass and the tortoise's dung, capped it with a tsama-melon cap, and put the tortoise into the oven that was prepared for it like a shallow little grave which the tortoise just fitted, a final agony, for the tortoise once more kicked and struggled as Gai raked hot coals over it. The steam escaping from the moist flesh caused the ashes to bubble and boil, and it was over; the meat was in the pot.

Gai flung the intestines away and sat down near his wife to smoke, and I, who wished that they could at least have killed [539 776] the tortoise first, thought of the story of Pishiboro and one of his wives, an elephant. Pishiboro is one of the names of God.

One night, when Pishiboro and his younger brother were sleeping, the elephant wife took them both and rolled them between her thighs, which caused them great discomfort. The younger brother said to Pishiboro: "Let us go away now

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

857 The game represents ostriches, perhaps ostriches fighting or
526 mating.
535

The game was intoxicating. The boys danced so fast, so perfectly, and made their rhythm so vigorous and free, that Gai, who had been sitting quietly listening to Ukwane, could stand it no longer. Throwing his great cape around himself, he suddenly leaped to his feet and sprang among the little boys, scattering them like a hawk among sparrows, towering over their heads as he began to dance. He stamped, bent, straightened, and swung his long leg over the little boys' backs, dancing with far more abandon, not as precisely as they, but madly; he took our breath away.

He wore his great kaross backward, flung across his chest, and when he stood still waiting for his turn to leap forward and crouch he was as motionless and dignified as a tribune standing, and when he danced the great wings of his kaross swung like the cape of a bullfighter, masculine, open, and free. He was a wonderful sight, and the old people watching him smiled, and the little boys dancing under his long legs and under the wings of his cape looked up at him and laughed with pleasure because he was playing their game.

Gai was a man of great dignity and for him the dance was not altogether a success, for when the young boys tried to swing their legs over his back they generally kicked him in the rear or in the face. Soon he tired of it and came back to the fire to sit by Ukwane, but he was too excited to stay
524 quiet long and in a moment he tore off his cape and, calling
593 Ukwane and his oldest son, he began another rhythmic game,
533 called "Kaross." This is played by several men or boys who rub the kaross between their hands in the way that they rub it to soften or cure it, only they rub more vigorously and accompany themselves with several very rhythmic, very gay, fast songs, sung in falsetto, to imitate the falsetto singing of

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

women because, say the men, women's voices are admirably beautiful.

Twikwe and Tsetchwe sat side by side, their legs straight out in front of them, the soles of their feet lit by the fire. They sang gaily and clapped their hands while the baby Nhwakwe walked up and down on Tsetchwe's leg, balancing himself like a child who is walking on a railing, then climbed to her shoulder and stood there triumphantly without holding on, gazing around like a child on a hill. He looked utterly astonished when Tsetchwe suddenly swept him to the ground and, flinging off her cape, jumped to her feet and began to dance. Everyone was astonished. Women almost never dance, although they are quite welcome to, but least of all Tsetchwe, a very conscientious mother and wife.

Tsetchwe's dance was extremely lively and extremely gay, and everyone except Nhwakwe looked up at her happily. She sang and waved her arms with great abandon, and danced her gay dance right behind the men, just for once flinging motherhood to the four winds and dancing right over her baby, who came trotting sadly after her, holding up his arms to be carried. In a moment the baby gave up and went to the lap of his grandmother, frowning as his mother danced happily by him again. When Tsetchwe finally got tired and flung herself down on the ground he ran to her and nursed immediately to reassure himself. She held him loosely in one arm as she coughed from exertion and laughed, with a pleased, shy expression on her face that said: this is what I used to do when I was younger.

When the people were tired of dancing they still seemed to feel like talking, and as the moon was down and the stars showed clearly we asked Ukwane to tell us something about the sky, and we pointed to several stars to learn their names.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

CHAPTER FIVE

Gai and Ukwane

At our camp in Ai a ha'o I had a small tent not high 136
enough to stand in, tied to a very small thorn tree. The tent was made of ragged, waterproof fabric which billowed in and out when the wind blew, and when lit from the inside by a candle at night looked luminous, pale green, like an aquarium or a lantern on the moon. The tent was a shade from the blazing sun at noon and a shelter from the wind, and through the thin canvas I could hear the creatures that passed at night—hares and small buck that made the long grass rustle, and occasionally small predatory animals, such as jackals, whose footsteps make a sound and which sometimes call "*tsa, tsa,*" their sad, loud cry that means in Gikwe "water, water." [192]

Whenever an animal called, someone would surely answer 524 ●
it. People do this for fun, a hobby, answering every animal 825
except the lion. In the Kalahari it is considered safer to let the lion have the last word.

I had luckily pitched my tent in the sun, and during the 123
long cold period that followed our arrival at Ai a ha'o I was the only person who was warm because the tent kept out the

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

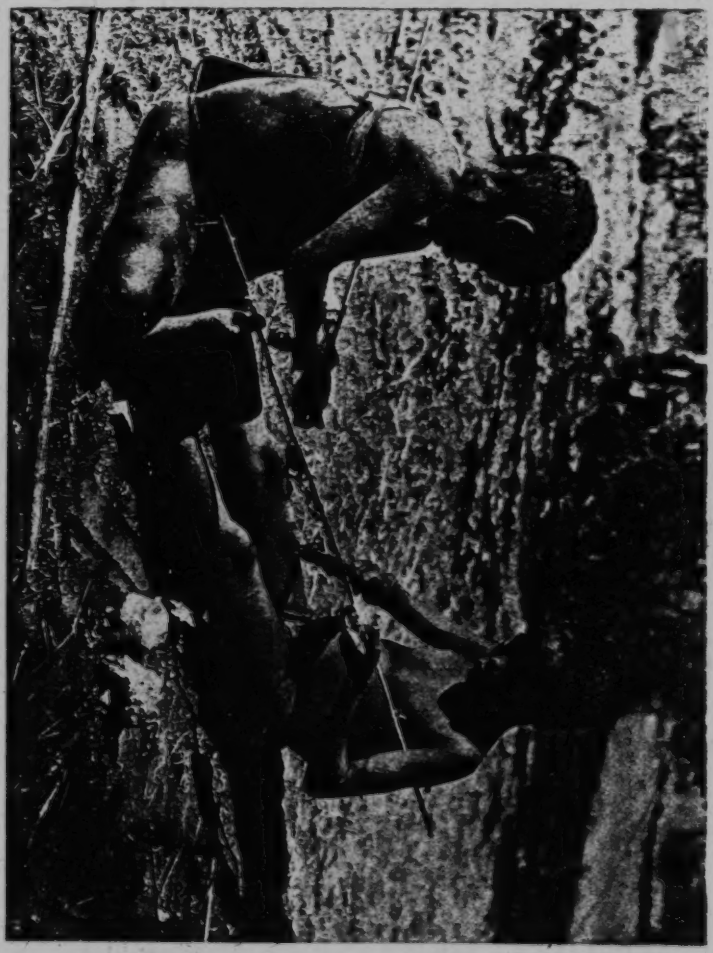
513 a loud baby snore, saliva from his open mouth moistening Gai's dark skin, but Gai absolutely silent in the fast, still . . sleep of a hunter. Only Twikwe was not sleeping. She lay on her belly with her chin propped up with one hand as she built a precarious little toy hut out of strips of bark, carefully, the way one builds a card house. When I came by to look at the people she looked at me with her amused, wise-woman's eyes.

515 In the afternoon the young boys naturally woke up first, as they were so entwined that the movement of one was bound to wake the others, and began sleepily to delouse each other, taking turns in pairs, one lying with his head in his partner's lap while his partner searched through his hair, catching and biting the lice he found. Then they cut each other's hair with a razor blade they had got from someone in our expedition, cutting away certain tufts of hair and leaving certain others until patterns on each head were formed, ranging from scalplocks to rather fine designs. One boy had only two tufts left on his entire scalp, one on each side, like a pair of horns; another boy had an egg-shaped pattern of tufts but with two holes of bare scalp showing so that when he bent his head he accidentally presented an oval face with a pair of staring eyes. All the patterns were supposed to be geometric, never intentionally having fantastic or representative designs. Wite's head was shaved entirely, his partner having shown no imagination at all; and his bare head made his ears seem even larger and more pointed, his face more elfin even than before.

000 It was a gray, hazy afternoon. Below the fine overcast were clusters of little white clouds all grouped together like white flowers. In the west a greak cloudbank was gathering, an ominous sign.

Later, when the young boys had dispersed to play horse and

524



WOODEN WANDS ARE WHISTLED by pair of intent !Kung boys, in preparation for a children's game. Bounced off ground, the sticks spin through the air for yards. Woodworking and exercise from the game help to prepare future hunters.

[p. 61]

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868
857

HUNTER'S TRAINING starts as childhood play, above, and !Kung youths will use anthills as targets and even stalk beetles as a game. Although their arrows are featherless,

[p. 65]

11: Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1958 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

524

HAPPY LIFE of children includes such moments as these: a laughing game of "pull-away," above.

423 312 bodies—from day to day. If the waterholes were not shared, some bands would be without permanent water.

621 166 361 Not all !Kung territories are of equal value in terms of food and water. Some people have *mangetti* nuts, some have *tsi*, and some have both. There is mild wealth, and gentle poverty in *Nyae Nyae*. Territories also change in value year by year. The rains may fail in some parts of *Nyae Nyae*, and fall in others. In normal years, *mangetti*'s in the north may become available earlier in the season than those of the western forests. Because of the flexibility of band composition, the bands gathering *mangetti*'s in such a favored area are enlarged by people who would otherwise have to wait.

This is usually a temporary situation, the newcomers having more the status of guests than members of the bands. Often, whole bands—headman and all—will visit kin in this manner. During years of dessication, the fact that a person has several choices of bands in which to live becomes vital to him—he can move from a hopeless place to perhaps a better one.

By such means, balance works out between the desert's resources and the numbers and distribution of !Kung who exploit them. No one district or *mangetti* forest could support more than a limited number of people. Only certain people possess the necessary kinship qualifications to join a band. The flexibility of their

[p. 87]

Il: Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1958 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

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301

[P. 89]

12: Marshall E-5 (1951-1959) 1961 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

SINEWS

Made and used by men

bow-strings
wrappings for arrow-shafts (the poison adheres well to sinew)
binding for hafts
snares

Made by men, used by all

strings for *//gwashi* (musical instrument)

Made by men or women

fine rolled cord

HORN

Made and used by men

horns fitted with leather covers for carrying arrow-points
horns for cupping

Used by all

horns for pipes
horns for spoons

SHELL

Made by men, used by all

ostrich egg-shell water-containers
tortoise-shell dippers
tortoise-shell containers

Made by women

ostrich egg-shell beads

FEATHERS

Used by boys on *jani* toys
Worn by all occasionally in hair

VEGETABLE MATERIALS

WOOD

Made and used by men

bows
spear handles
axe or adze handles
knife handles
knife sheaths
spring-hare hook handles[1]
fire-making sticks
hatchet bow (musical instrument) (few)

Made by men, used by all

digging sticks
carrying sticks
stirring sticks
mortars and pestles
bowls
spoons
fire scrapers
//gwashi (musical instrument)
one-stringed violin
jani toys
beads

Made by women

frames for scherms

FIBRES

(from *sansevieria*, aloe, *Ines* tree roots, other roots)

Rolled by men and women

cord

Made and used by men

carrying-nets
snares

Made and used by all

ornaments

GRASS

Made by men and women

stoppers for ostrich egg-shell water-containers
ornaments

Made by women

scherms

Made by children

toys of grass folded and woven to suggest animals

Used by all for beds

[1] Bushmen use sticks 12 to 15 feet long made of flexible rods in 3 or 4 sections, with a hook fastened to the end, to hook spring-hares which live in deep burrows. They seldom succeed but keep on trying. They carry only the hook around with them and whenever they need a handle they make a new one.

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4. The jani bird toy

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5. Boys catch the jani bird with sticks before it touches the ground and toss it high into the air again

[p. 228 (c)]

13: Marshall E-5 (1952-1955) 1962 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

The dancing of the men in the curing ceremonial dances has its own special style. In other dances, that of the *Choma*, the Men's Dance, the Eland Dance of the First Menstruation Ceremony, and in the numerous singing-dancing or rhythmic games which the /Kung play for fun, one sees enchanting pantomime and imitation of animals. In the ceremonial dances we sometimes thought we saw what might be a vestige of the imitation of animals' horns in the way the arms were held, but in comparison with the visual expressiveness of the games, the purpose is not to express by gesture but to produce sound, to be part of the music.

The men wear rattles made of strings of dried cocoons with little seeds or stones inside, which make a swishing sound. These are the only instruments used in the dance. (The /Kung, incidentally, have no drums.) The men dance with knees bent and bodies carried with little motion, leaning forward. On the strong accented beat, the dancer gives a hop and comes down with both feet. On the second beat he holds his weight on one foot (alternating right and left) and with the other stamps a single step or ripples two or three light stamps into the time of the single step. The steps are very precise. They are minute in size, advancing only two or three inches, but they are strongly stamped, and ten or twenty dancers stamping together produce a loud thud. The women clap loudly and sharply. The majority of them clap the basic pattern of a particular piece, while some strike a beat or beats which are complementary to the basic beat. The clapping and stamping are of such precision that they give the effect of a well-played battery of percussion instruments producing a solid structure of intricate rhythm. Above the percussion sounds, the voices of the men and women weave together in parts, singing the medicine songs.[1] Since singing and dancing are one, producing the music, I speak of medicine songs or medicine dances interchangeably.

The medicine songs or dances of the /Kung are named *Rain*, *Sun*, *Giraffe*, *Eland*, *Honey*, *Buffalo*, and *Mamba*. Some of the /Kung have *Gemsbok* and *Spider* Medicine music as well. The Rain Dance is not danced as a specific rain-making ceremony. The dances named for animals do not produce magic to control these animals in hunting or to prevent snake-bite, for example. The dances are named for these things because the things are vital, life-and-death things and they are strong, as the curing medicine in the music is strong.

After several dances have been danced the medicine men begin to cure. The /Kung do not have sorcerers, witches, or witch doctors, and do not believe that the divine beings enter into the medicine men or speak through them. Almost all the /Kung men are medicine men. They do not all choose to practise, for one reason or another, but there are always several in a band who are active. Medicine men receive no rewards other than their inner satisfactions and emotional release. I know that some of them feel a deep responsibility for the welfare of their people and great anxiety and concern if their curing fails, and a corresponding satisfaction if it prevails. Others of them appear to be less concerned about the people whom they try to cure and more inwardly turned.

When the medicine men are curing, all of them experience varying degrees of self-induced trance, which includes a period of frenzy and a period of semi-

[1] Nicholas England is in the process of tracing the songs and analysing the music, and he has a paper in preparation which will include /Kung beliefs and practices about them.

513 882 together may sleep near the parents of one of them, but not exactly at the parents' fire.

855 857 Within the frame of protectiveness the parents are very permissive and make few, if any, demands on their children. With no houses and few utensils, there are not many household tasks to assign. Children are not sent off alone to do any of the daily work of fetching water or wood or [136] gathering veldkos. Although lions, leopards, and hyenas tend to mind their own business, they are present in the country and share the water holes with the Bushmen. Poisonous snakes are a very real danger. Furthermore, as the hunters say, it takes a lifetime to learn the country well enough not to be easily lost in the featureless grass and brush. The adults do not let their children out of their sight. In their parents' presence the children imitate adult activities in vital, active play, very engaging to watch, and [868] participate in actual work as they are able. The adults pause to show them how to hold a digging stick, or a toy bow or drill, so that play and learning merge.

524 857 [512] The !Kung have a rich variety of lively group games, with pantomime, singing, dancing, and other rhythmic movements, that children and adults together enjoy playing in the werf when the heat of the day is over. In most of their games boys and girls play separately, but they dance and sing together.

861 !Kung children are never harshly punished. One father said that if he had a boy who was quarrelsome or who disobeyed the rules—for instance, the absolute rule of the !Kung against stealing food or possessions—what he would do about it would be to keep the boy right with him until he learned 857 sense. The children on their part do not often do things that call forth 156 punishment. They usually fall in with group life and do what is expected of them without apparent uncertainty, frustration, or fear; and expressions of resistance or hostility toward their parents, the group, or each other are very much the exception.

881 [173] [171] [562] [535] [534] [302] [304] PUBERTY • When the fathers of the present old men were young men, the Nyae Nyae !Kung adopted the ceremony of the *Choma*, which they said was taught to them by a !Kung man who had married into another language group in the south. The *Choma* resembles some Bantu initiation ceremonies at certain points. The men who have had the ceremony and are therefore *Choma* owners take the boys to a place far enough from the werf to be out of hearing of the women, who, the !Kung claim, would die if they heard some of the *Choma* sounds. The men and boys dance all night for several nights to special *Choma* songs with special rhythms that differ from those of the other dances. A secret bull-roarer plays a part in the ceremony. At the end the boys are scarified with a vertical line down the middle of their foreheads and are given a special *Choma* haircut. Circumcision or other genital operations are not practiced by the !Kung.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

middle-aged women who counted up to five children they had reared—the others were never mentioned. The eldest children were already married, the others quite small. 162

Childhood and Family Life

All Bushmen are very fond of their children, who receive love and care without stint.[1] Babies and young children are spoiled, and rarely corrected. The children begin to walk early, but long after a child can toddle it must still ride in its mother's kaross on food-gathering expeditions, giving her an additional burden to carry wherever she goes. When finally old enough to look after themselves, the youngsters go out with other children, trailing after the women or bigger girls. They have no special playthings; infants amuse themselves with sticks and stones and grasshoppers, playing about in the sand, while the young boys soon make themselves or are given little bows and wooden arrows, with which they shoot small birds and reptiles. 855 857 [524]

Both boys and girls go out with their elders on the daily excursions in search of food, even the babies go, riding in their mothers' karosses. The day is spent out in the open veld, and here the children receive most of their education. The girls accompany their mothers, from whom they learn to know the plants and animals, and their value as food, how to collect veldkos, and how to use the different implements and utensils. The bigger boys follow the men out hunting. Towards his eighth or ninth year each boy is provided by his father with a proper bow and arrows, which are, however, not poisoned. With these he is allowed to shoot hares, guinea fowl and other birds, wild cats, small buck, etc. After killing his first steenbok or duiker he is given a few poisoned arrows, and later, when he has become proficient in the use of these, he is taught to stalk and shoot big game. By the time he reaches the age of puberty he has, as a rule, gained a very good knowledge of veldcraft. 868

In this way the children grow up in intimate contact with Nature, and acquire all the knowledge necessary for hunting and collecting. In the evening they run about near the huts, play various games, mostly denoting scenes of animal life, take part in the dances, or sit by the fire, listening to the talk of their elders, until they feel 857

[1] D. F. Bleek, *Natal*, 18 sqq., 31–3; Passarge, op. cit., 100; Dornan, *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 133–41; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 89–90.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
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535 825 which the performers imitated all the actions and droll grimaces of rival baboons, springing, gambolling, and running upon all fours, chattering and grimacing like a troop of excited simiadae. Another, and one which also appeared a favourite amongst them, was the *'Kloo-rou-o*, or Frog dance, in which they squatted, and leaped, and rolled about like a lot of inebriated batrachians. A third of this kind was the *t'Oi*, or Bee dance, when the company transformed themselves into a swarm of bees, and performed their evolutions with a buzzing chorus. "On special occasions," Stow continues, "they held a general masquerade, when each one took the disguise or head-dress of some particular bird or animal, and upheld the character during the performance. This appears to have been considered one of their grand national dances, and was reserved for their high festivals; it was one which even their greatest artists delighted to depict, and probably it had some hidden meaning known to the initiated."[1] It is not unlikely, as Stow suggests, that such dances were also of a ritual character, but of their function and relation to the social life generally hardly anything is known.

526 535 Games are often played in the evenings too, by grown-up people of both sexes as well as by children.[2] A favourite game of the women, found among the Southern Bushmen, as well as in the north, is a ball game which is almost a dance. The players stand in a line [533] clapping their hands and singing a wordless tune. One of them dances about opposite the others with a melon or round tuber in her hand. At the end of the tune she throws the ball to the player at the right hand of the line, who dances out to catch it, and herself dances back to the left end, where she joins in the singing and clapping. The next player does the same, and so the game goes on till all have had several turns. Sometimes, again, they play at the capture of 524 brides by young men, as among the Naron, or at games based on 536 animal experiences, as among the Heikum. One of the latter, for instance, represents how a white monkey was once seen by a woman who ran home and told the others. "The part of the monkey is taken by a woman who stands with her hands covering the sides of her face, leaving only a small opening for peeping through. She sways her head from side to side. The other women form up in a row opposite to her. One goes forward to look at the monkey, gazes at it intently and, when the latter starts moving its head from side to

[1] Op. cit., 117–18.
[2] Stow, op. cit., 97–102; Kaufmann, op. cit., 149–50; D. F. Bleek, op. cit., 18–21; Fourie op. cit., 97–8.

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side, beckons and calls to the others to come and see the wonderful thing. This they do one by one, each in turn beckoning to the others to come and see."[1] 524 536

Men's games have mostly a competitive character. In one each player has a thin stick, which he flings forcibly on to the ground in such a manner as to make it rise into the air and shoot away from him. Each strives to make his stick go farthest. In another a thin short stick, with two or three feathers tied to its upper end and weighted at the lower end by means of a large berry or bean, is flung into the air and kept going by catching it on a stick in its descent and flinging it up again. In others, again, a small melon or some similar object is put up as a target at which, from a certain distance, the men shoot with their arrows or throw their spears, the successful marksman receiving some food or tobacco as a prize. Still another, described by some of the older writers on the Cape Bushmen under the name of "Bushman cards", is played with a stone or small piece of wood. The man who has the bit of wood rapidly changes it from one hand to the other, so as to bewilder his companions, and finally asks one of them to guess in which hand it is concealed. If the guess is wrong the player sings out, "You eat the dog, I eat the meat," but if the guess is correct he says, "I eat the dog, you eat the meat," and hands the wood over to his companion. The players, it is said, will sometimes keep up this game for hours at their evening fire. 526 524

Children's games among the Naron and Auen, again, have such motives as a snake lying in wait for and capturing its prey at a waterhole, a struggle for the ownership of cattle, a man bartering goods from a trader, cock ostriches fighting with elephants who have come to drink at a waterhole, and a fight between two opposing groups, who pretend to shoot each other. In the first of these, one boy is the water snake. "He crouches on knees and elbows close to a small heap of sand which represents the pool. Some ten yards off the other players sit flat on the ground, close behind one another; each one putting her legs on either side of the one before her, and locking her feet over the other's thighs, forming a chain with the biggest in front. They sway from side to side edging forwards as they go, meanwhile singing an old song of which some of the words are no longer understood ... Now and then they interrupt their slow progress to dig up and eat in dumb show an imaginary water root. On reaching the 'pool', the chain breaks up, all gather round the water 524 857

[1] Fourie, loc. cit.

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524 857 and pretend to dip it out. The 'snake' from time to time flicks sand at them with his finger, he is supposed to be squirting water. The others start back and scream, then gather once more round the 'pool'. At last the 'snake' jumps up, seizes a victim and pretends to swallow it, which ends the game."[1]

533 Some of the children's games, as in the one just described, have songs or refrains attached to them, in which the words are occasionally [535] obsolete. All the dances are also accompanied by singing, many of them having their own special tune, but here the tunes are often sung without words. Other songs, again, go with the playing of musical instruments. The tunes are as a rule very short, and are generally repeated over and over again without variation, so that the effect is rather monotonous. "All Bushmen sing," says Miss Bleek,[2] "but their tunes are not easy for a European to distinguish, much less to write down." And, referring to the dance tunes, [535] she adds: "The time is perfect, but no two in a chorus seem to hit the same note, though the general burden of the tune is kept up. That is to say, they all go up together, but not from or to the same note, and they all go down together, each hitting any note they please."

534 Musical instruments are seldom used to accompany the dances, although several different kinds are found.[3] Many of them are variations of the musical bow. The best known of these, the */goura*, was the favourite instrument in the south. It consists in an ordinary bow, in which one end of the string, instead of being fastened to the stave itself, is attached to a flexible piece of quill spliced to the end of the stave. This quill is held against the lips, and made to vibrate by strong expirations and inspirations of the breath, thus producing the effect of a stringed wind instrument. Another form of the musical bow, commonly known as the */gubo*, has a gourd or tortoise-shell attached to the stave of the bow so as to serve as a sounding-box. The instrument is played by picking at the string with a small piece of wood or bone. A development of this sometimes seen consists in playing it like a primitive sort of violin, with a small bow for sounding the string. This mode of playing was probably adopted [177] from a European source, as the use of a bow after the manner of a

[1] D. F. Bleek, op. cit., 19. [2] Op. cit., 22.
[3] Stow, op. cit., 102–11; Passarge, op. cit., 95–8; Gretschel, "Die Buschmannsammlung Hannemann," 111–12; Kaufmann, op. cit., 150–1; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 21–2; Balfour, "The Goura—A Stringed Wind Musical Instrument of the Bushmen and Hottentots," *J.R. Anthrop. Inst.*, xxxii (1902), 156–76.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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The paintings are most frequently found on the walls of caves and rock shelters, occasionally on isolated rocks out in the open, and in a few rare instances, as we have seen, on small loose slabs of stone associated with cave burials. The engravings, on the other hand, occur as a rule on outstanding or outlying patches of rock out in the open. The mode of occurrence of these two forms of the art seems to have been determined by the nature of the rock surface available. Where the stone was soft or porous and provided large plane surfaces, paintings were generally made; where it was hard, and there was little prospect of the paints taking a good hold, engraving prevailed. This also explains to some extent why paintings are mostly found in the caves and rock shelters produced by the effects of erosion on the relatively soft shales or sandstones, while engravings are seen on the exposed surfaces of such hard rocks as quartzite, diorite, basalt, diabase, and phyllite.

The technical processes employed in the execution of the designs appear to have been fairly simple. As canvas the rock surface in its natural state was employed; broad plane surfaces were preferred, but where these were not at hand no trouble seems to have been taken either to polish the rough surface of the rock or to level it down in any way.

The only implements used in making the engravings were small pieces of hard stone with a fairly serviceable point. With these the artist would laboriously chip away at the rock surface until his design was completed. Some of the engravings consist of only an outline drawing produced by more or less rough pointing and punching, giving the design an appearance known as "pocked". The pocking is usually very shallow, but in some of the figures a comparatively deep groove has been made. Sometimes the outline is completely filled, so that the engraving consists in a design uniformly pocked over the surface. One also finds a continuous grooved outline combined with a shallow pocked body, and in the best specimens the rock surface surrounding the design has been chipped away, leaving a sort of bas-relief in which shading is often skilfully introduced. Some of the engravings in this style are very beautifully done, and it is indeed astonishing to what a degree of excellence the artists could attain, considering the material disadvantages under which they worked.

The paintings are on the whole superior to and more elaborate than the engravings, and offered more scope for freedom of expression.